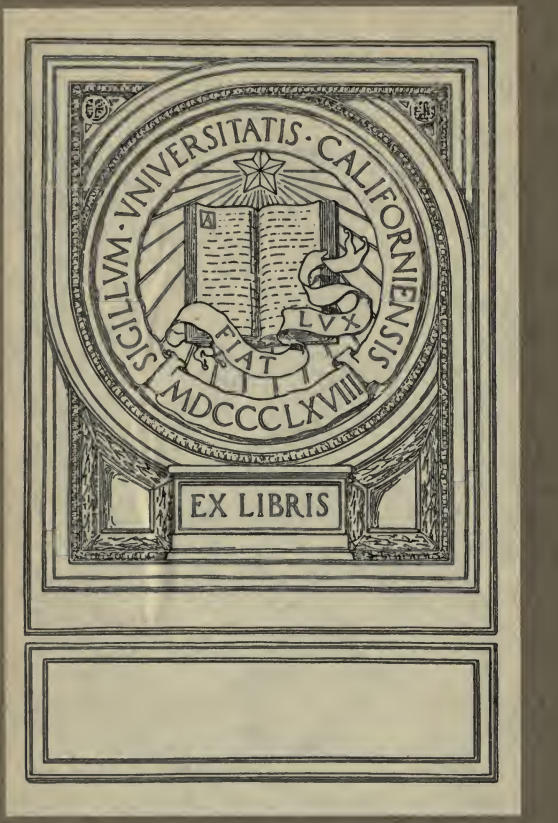
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A

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

AGAINST

AN INCREASE OF DUTIES

ON

IMPORTATIONS,

BY

CITIZENS OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

Boston:
DUTTON AND WENTWORTH....PRINTERS.
1827.

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MEMORIAL.

To the Honourable the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

The undersigned, Citizens of Boston, and its vicinity, respectfully represent, that they have not been inattentive or careless observers of the course of measures hitherto adopted by the Government of the United States, at the urgent instance of those concerned in various branches of Domestic Manufacture, to enhance the prices of home manufactured articles to the consumers, by the establishment of such high duties, as greatly to discourage, if not entirely to prohibit the use of similar articles of foreign production, at reduced prices; and that they have regarded with the deepest anxiety and solicitude, the strenuous and combined efforts, which have been recently made, and are now making, to influence and control the public opinion, and to give it a direction, favourable to the imposition of still higher and more oppressive duties, upon the important and essential article of Woollen Manufactured Goods.

Upon the most superficial view of the subject, considering the actual and increasing numbers, the condition and habits of the people of the United States, and the climate in which we live, the manner in which such a people shall be supplied with woollen goods, cannot fail of being regarded as a question of the first magnitude. It essentially concerns the comforts, pursuits and employments of the whole community, more especially of the industrious classes,—and in this respect, demands the attentive and profound consideration of all those, both rulers and people, who feel an interest in the prosperity of our common country.

We are fully aware of the powerful influence of a strong, decisive, and deliberate public opinion, in a popular and representative government, like ours, and of the great weight, which the public voice, fully and deliberately expressed, must ever have upon the counsels, the measures and policy of the government.

We are also aware, that it has frequently been represented, and from the numerous memorials, petitions, addresses, and resolutions of conventions, committees, and other organized bodies, it may appear, that the great body of intelligent citizens, in this part of the country, notwithstanding the strong expression of adverse opinions

a few years since, are now in favour of a further increase of duties. Whereas your Memorialists are fully convinced, that no essential change of public opinion has taken place,—that the great body of intelligent men, in this part of the United States, including many of the most discreet and judicious manufacturers, are now, as they were then, fully convinced that moderate duties—a free interchange of commodities—and an open competition in all the pursuits of useful and honest industry, should be protected and encouraged as the true and sound policy of the United States.

The apparent loud and general expression of opposite views may, we think, be easily accounted for, consistently with the opinion here expressed.

It is undoubtedly true, that the amount of capital invested in manufactures since 1820, has greatly increased, and consequently, the numbers of those interested in them, has also greatly increased, though still constituting a small proportion of the whole community. It is obvious, that, under such circumstances, all those who would profit by the prohibitory system, have a powerful and immediate interest in the question, whilst the interest of the great body of the community, who would suffer by it, though vitally important, is remote and indirect. It is, therefore, easy to perceive how readily the voice of an active, interested and organized minority, may be mistaken for a general expression of the public will.

Under these circumstances, your Memorialists have felt it to be their duty, respectfully, but frankly, to express their opinion to the Representatives of the people, that any further increase of the duties upon imported woollens and other articles, would be highly injurious to the great body of the community,—their sincere belief that such is the prevalent, if not the general opinion of judicious and intelligent persons of this part of the United States—and their earnest hope, that Congress will not be induced, by interested applications, however urgent or plausible, by further burthensome and prohibitory duties, to build up one interest, and that of a comparatively small minority, at the expense of the great interests of the whole.

In submitting these representations, they beg leave pointedly and strongly, to disclaim all party and political views: they regard it as an abstract question of public policy, to be considered and decided upon its own merits,—and they regret, if such be the fact, that a subject of all others, requiring calm and mature deliberation,—a free and unbiassed judgment, should even accidentally, be connected with any subject, calculated to excite the prejudices,—to awaken the passions,—or to strengthen or weaken the hopes or measures of any political party.

In like manner, they do expressly disclaim any hostility to the manufacturing system. On the contrary, they believe that this branch of industry, whilst it advances gradually and naturally, under the aid and protection of moderate duties, and as the wants and interests of the country require, is highly beneficial. And one

strong ground of their apprehension is, that any forced and violent measures of encouragement, unjust in themselves, by which the manufacturing system is placed in manifest hostility to great national interests, must necessarily tend to produce a speedy and violent reaction, which may prove most injurious to the system itself. Nothing has a more direct tendency to produce and hasten this disastrous crisis, than the alarming pretensions of that class of Manufacturers, and their advocates, who insist upon prohibitory duties upon imported commodities of first necessity,—or what is obviously the same thing, such an exorbitant rate of duties, as effectually and avowedly to exclude all competition.

It is contended on the part of the Woollen Manufacturers, that the British, and other foreign nations, on account of their more abundant capital, low wages, and other advantages, notwithstanding the present high rate of duties, can undersell them in the home market, and consequently, that further duties are necessary, to enable them to realize a profit on their business.

If this, indeed, be true, it affords the strongest argument against the imposition of further duties. Stripped of the fallacious guise in which this proposition is usually put forth, to arouse our national prejudices, as if the importing system were designed to promote foreign, instead of American interests, what does the proposition really import? Why that American capital is invested in foreign fabrics, that these fabrics are paid for by American produce, or other fruits of American industry, transported by American labor, in American ships,—that they pay a handsome revenue into the treasury, and are then afforded to the people, at a rate cheaper than that, at which the home made articles can be obtained, and which have paid no revenue into the treasury.

This proposition, we think, contains the true merits of the question. Its soundness cannot be controverted. It may be denied, perverted, or evaded, but it cannot be shaken. In both cases, the fabrics are the produce of American capital and industry. If the foreign fabrics, after paying the cost of their purchase, transportations, and incidental expenses, and a large revenue, cannot undersell the home made fabrics, then the complaints of the manufacturers are utterly groundless, and no further duties can be of any avail to them. If they can, then, upon the system of importation, the country enjoys the double advantage of low prices, and handsome revenue.

It is true, that in one case, the labor and capital of the country are devoted more extensively to agriculture, and the various arts and employments connected with shipbuilding, trade, and navigation,—and, in the other, more directly to spinning and weaving, and the arts connected with the manufacture of cloth. But your Memorialists have yet to learn, that there is any national advantage, in forcing labor and capital, from a more, to a less profitable employment, or, indeed, of forcing it at all, since it is obvious, that if left to itself, it will naturally seek, and necessarily find that employment, which is ultimately the most profitable.

But your Memorialists believe, that in the terms, and to the extent, in which the proposition is advanced, it is not true, that high duties are necessary to the growth of this branch of manufacture.

Even when the duty was at the moderate rate of 5 per cent. a most extensive manufacture of woollen goods was established in this country, and carried on in a domestic and household way, and by small companies; and it is believed, that if we were now to return to a system of moderate duties, a very large proportion of the woollen goods, required for the consumption of the country, especially of the common fabrics, would be manufactured in the country. It seems, indeed, to be conceded, that as a general principle, the forcing of labor and capital into, or from any particular channel, by bounties or prohibitions, or by any financial regulations, designed to produce the same effect, is impolitic, and injurious to the public interests. But it is urged with a vehemence and perseverance, worthy of a better cause, that the particular circumstances in which we are placed, render our country an exception to the operation of this general principle.

It is, among other things, frequently urged, that the Tariff of 1824, has been of slight benefit to the manufacturer, because, although the duty on woollen fabrics was greatly increased, yet an increase of the duty on imported wool, laid simultaneously, deprived them, in a great degree, of the benefit, which they would otherwise have derived from that measure.

But when it is considered, how very small a proportion of foreign wool, enters into the manufacture of American goods, we think it will be apparent, that the duty on wool, however much it may tend to conciliate the wool growers, and reconcile them to the payment of enormous duties on the woollens they consume, can have very little influence in advancing the price of the manufactured articles. We are aware, that the proportion has, in some instances, been stated, even by those, who should have been better informed, as high as *a quarter* and even *a half*. It is difficult to account for such exaggerated statements. We are satisfied, that upon the fullest investigation, the cost of foreign to that of domestic wool, used in the home manufacture, will not be found to exceed 4 *or* 5 *per cent.*

Another consideration, which is urgently pressed upon the notice of Congress as a reason for the increase of duties is, that the existing duties are extensively evaded, and large quantites of goods are clandestinely and fraudulently introduced. This assertion, whilst it imports a serious change of extensive frauds on the part of importers, and negligence or unfaithfulness on the part of the revenue officers, should we think, rest upon some foundation more substantial, than vague suspicion, or interested representation. If this charge were supported by satisfactory proofs, and if it were sincerely believed to be a cause sufficiently extensive, in its operation, to affect the present question, would it not be wiser and more patriotic,

instead of increasing the temptation to frauds, by still higher duties, to devise, and call upon Congress to adopt some effectual measures to secure the payment of the existing duties,—a measure quite as important to the nation, in point of *revenue*, as to the Manufacturers, in point of *protection*.

Your Memorialists cannot perceive, that, in the bill recently reported for the increase of duties, on woollen goods, any measures are proposed, for the increased security of the revenue. On the contrary, it seems manifest, that by the increase of duties itself, and the extraordinary and artificial mode of valuation of goods of a certain cost,—both temptations and facilities are offered for frauds on the revenue, which if they exist at all under the present system, must prove quite irresistible under the new one.

But it is asserted with great seriousness that home manufactures give employment to American labor and capital, and thus promote American interests. This is unquestionably true. But it is likewise true, that a free importation gives an equal and vastly more beneficial employment to American capital and labor. If we import foreign fabrics, do we not export an equal amount of our own productions, the fruits of American labor and capital, to pay for them? Trade necessarily implies an interchange of commodities; each giving that, which from its climate, soil, and other circumstances, it produces with the greatest facility, and receiving that which it cannot produce at all, or which it can produce only at greater cost. If we will not buy foreign commodities, we cannot sell our own. If we will not import, we cannot export.

These are plain and self evident truths, which it would seem hardly necessary to repeat, were they not often controverted, or the fair and necessary inferences from them denied, with a boldness and earnestness, calculated to raise a doubt of their reality.

If as is sometimes asserted, apparently to excite our national prejudices, foreign nations will not take our products,—the fruits of American capital and industry, we may save ourselves the trouble of adopting any retaliatory measures, in the shape of duties, prohibitions, or otherwise. If our products are not taken by foreign nations, it is quite obvious, that we must necessarily cease, to take their fabrics,—and of course the home manufacturer will have the exclusive enjoyment of the home market, with or without duties. It is manifestly unimportant in this view, whether the direct interchange of commodities, between our own and any particular nation, be equal or not. If we export our products to one country,—and receive their products, or their money and proceed to another for the purchase of our goods, this trade gives as great, and in many instances, even a greater amount of employment to American capital and labor, than if the exchange were direct.

But we have stated, and we believe it demonstrable, that the importing system gives a more extensive aud more beneficial employment to American capital and industry, than the manufacturing system, forced by high duties.

It is sufficient to maintain this proposition to state, that whilst manufacturing gives employment to the capital immediately engaged in the fabrication of goods, the importing system affords equal employment to all those engaged in the production of the exported articles, together with all those engaged in the transportation and exchange of the commodities exported and imported,—and all those engaged in the various arts and trades connected with ship-building, navigation, and commerce; in addition to all which, it pays a large revenue to the nation.

But considering the question upon higher grounds;—is it no object of national strength and grandeur to encourage the more improved cultivation of the old, and a more extended occupation and settlement of the new lands of this Union? Is it no object of public policy, to raise up a numerous and hardy race of seamen? Is it not desirable upon public grounds, to cherish and maintain a free, liberal, and friendly intercourse with all foreign nations;—and is not such an intercourse calculated to promote our own progress in the arts and improvements of advanced civilization? These are considerations, which independently of all pecuniary interests, would seem to recommend the adoption of those enlightened principles of free trade, the growth of modern times, conformable to the spirit of the age, which have met the approbation of the most enlightened statesmen, and which stand so prominently opposed to the restrictive and prohibitory measures, which originated in an age of comparative darkness and ignorance.

Your Memorialists would respectfully ask leave, to examine the soundness of another proposition, which is relied upon, apparently with great confidence, by the advocates of protecting duties, and which appears to be considered as decisive of the question in its application to woollen manufactures, which is this, that manufactures protected, are cheaper, because of that protection.

That with respect to a branch of manufacture not yet introduced into a country, or still in its infancy, where the skill, implements, and machinery necessary for carrying it on, are wanting, a high temporary duty may encourage the introduction of artizans and machinery, and thus, ultimately reduce the price of the manufacture, may well be admitted. But this surely cannot apply to an established manufacture like that of woollens, the skill and machinery, and all the requisite means and resources of conducting which, are understood and possessed here, in as high perfection, as in any other country. Yet it is of such a branch of manufucture, that the proposition is predicated, and that too, for the purpose of establishing a high, *permanent* protecting duty.

How, then, does the imposition of a duty upon any article of foreign fabric, operate as a protection to the home manufactured article of like kind? simply by enhancing the price to the consumer. This is not only the natural and necessary consequence, but the avowed and proposed design and purpose. It would not accom-

plish the object of its advocates,—it would not operate as a protection, without it. The proposition, then, amounts to this;—that a measure designed and intended to enhance the price of goods to the consumer, renders them cheaper. No argument can place the fallacy of this proposition in a stronger light, than its simple statement.

But it is contended, that the proposition is supported by the case of cotton goods,—because more and better goods can be obtained now, at a given money price, than before the advance of duties on cotton goods. The fact is, no doubt, true. But because cottons have fallen, since the tariff, it by no means follows, that that fall was occasioned by the tariff. Other causes, quite adequate to the effect, may be assigned for such a fall, both here, and throughout the world. These are—improved machinery, increased skill, more abundant capital, and reduced wages, occasioned by general peace, —but, above all, the reduction of the raw material, to about one third of its former price.

That these are the true and operative causes of the fall of cotton goods, both here and in foreign countries, is sufficiently shown by another fact; which is, that notwithstanding the existing high duties, large quantities of cotton goods are still imported. It is quite manifest, therefore, that cotton goods have fallen, not in consequence, but in spite of the high duty—and but for that high duty, would have fallen much lower.

The case of cotton goods, then, can have no tendency to support the proposition for which it is cited. If protecting duties render goods cheaper, what ground, we would respectfully ask, have the woollen manufacturers to complain of the duty on imported wool? On their own principles, it should be regarded as a benefit, by rendering their raw material cheaper.

We have already alluded to the objection often repeated, that foreign nations will take little of our products, especially those raised north of the Potomac. We have already given one answer to this assertion; which is, that if we cease to export, we must cease to import;—and then the whole system of protecting duties is unnecessary and inoperative. But another, and to some minds, perhaps, a more satisfactory answer may be given. In point of fact, we have had, and unless paralized by our own unwise and impolitic restrictions, may continue to have a most extensive and beneficial foreign trade, which has furnished the Treasury with by far the largest proportion of its whole receipts since the establishment of the constitution, and which has given a stimulus to agriculture, to the mechanic arts—and to every department of industry. The benefits it confers, have not been limited to a few, or to particular classes, but have been diffused through the whole community.

It is true, that the amount of productions exported, bears but a small proportion, to those which supply the home consumption.—But this is, probably, true of every country. It is only the super-

fluous productions of any country, which constitute the subject of its export trade.

It is impracticable, in a Memorial like this, to enter into detailed calculations. But a reference to the Custom House returns will show, that, when not diminished by war, or by our own restrictive measures, we have had an extensive foreign trade. But of what importance is it, in a national view, whether the articles constituting the bulk of our exports are raised North or South of the Potomac? It is true, that the New England and Middle States, are almost fully peopled, and engaged in various employments, other than agriculture,—and especially New Englaud, are rather consumers of the productions of others, than exporters of their own. If the Southern States enjoy an advantage in the sale of their valuable staples, do not those of the North enjoy a great advantage in the transportation of them, and in the profits on the returns made, for the supply of the South? The diversity of climate, soil, habits, and social condition, is a source, rather of unity than of diversity of interests. It enables each more effectually to supply the wants of the other, by an interchange of superfluities mutually beneficial. And we think it would be a subject of serious regret, if a question, essentially affecting the general policy of the whole community, should be discussed and decided with any reference to local prejudices, feelings or interests. We consider it quite immaterial, whether the great staples of our export trade, are raised in one or another part of the United States;—each and all participate in its benefits, according to their respective conditions and means—and all share in the benefits of the liberal revenue, which it yields to the nation.

A reference to the trade in the single article of Cotton, if pursued in all its details, would manifestly show to what a wide extent the profits of that trade are diffused, and to what an extent, it gives employment to capital and industry, beyond the limits of the States, where it is produced.

Your Memorialists understand that another claim is made for an increase of duties on woollen goods, supported by an appeal to the justice of Congress, which seems to demand more particular attention.

It is urged, that by the duties established by the act of 1824, the government became pledged to the manufacturers, to guarantee to them the protection intended to be extended to them, by that act, and that the British Parliament, by a reduction of the duty on foreign wool, has to a certain extent, diminished the cost of the British fabric,—and thereby, in a great measure, deprived the American manufacturer of the benefit expected.

The positions maintained are, that the British Government reduced their duty on foreign wool, subsequently to, and in consequence of our protecting duty; that our government is bound, in good faith,

to secure to the manufacturer, the protection then pledged;—and that the reduction of the duty on foreign wool, by Great Britain, reduced the cost of the British fabrics, to the amount of sixteen per cent.

A slight examination will show, how utterly unfounded are all these positions. It will appear by a reference to the debates in Parliament, on the subject,—that the duty of six pence per pound on foreign wool, was a war duty, and its repeal was petitioned for in 1819, and subsequently, that its reduction had been often recommended, and that the act reducing it passed the House of Commons in May 1824, on the day after the passing of the American act. It will also appear, by a reference to the debates in Congress on the American act, that it was noticed and stated, that this measure of the British Parliament, was in progress, and would probably be adopted.

Nor can it be considered, that the anticipation of the American act, was the ground of the British repeal, when it is considered, by how small a majority, the duty was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and how far the protecting system was regarded, from being a part of the settled policy of the United States.

In no respect therefore, can the British reduction of duty be considered as made in a hostile or retaliatory spirit; and the supposition, unfounded in fact, seems calculated only to awaken injurious prejudices. Again, the effect of the reduction of the British duty on foreign wool is, in the opinion of your Memorialists, greatly overstated. They are convinced that upon the most careful investigation, considering how small a proportion of foreign wool enters into the composition of British woollens, and how small a proportion, the cost of the raw material, bears to that of the manufactured article; it will be found, that the reduction on the goods, instead of any thing like *sixteen*, did not exceed *two* or *three* per cent.

But if it is contended, that Congress, by once raising the duty on foreign manufactures, are bound in good faith, not only to maintain that duty, but to raise it further, with a view to meet any fall of price, in the foreign article, arising from foreign legislation,—from the fall of wages, materials, interest of money, and all other fluctuating causes, which can affect prices abroad, your Memorialists beg leave, earnestly to protest against the admission of so dangerous and extraordinary a doctrine. A duty once levied, can never be reduced. A burthen once imposed upon the people, is fastened on them forever. Our own legislation, instead of being regulated by our own views of policy, is to vary with the legislation, not only of one, but all foreign nations,—and not only with foreign legislation, but with the perpetually varying circumstances of foreign countries. The reduction of a poor tax,—the repeal of the Corn Laws,—the removal of any burthen, calculated to improve the condition of the foreign manufacturer, is to work a consequent change

in our protecting laws. Every burthen removed from other nations, is to be transferred to our own.

These conclusions are not the forced, but natural and necessary inferences from the principle assumed. If the Government are bound in good faith, to protect the manufacturer, against all competition, why not put an end to all discussion at once, by carrying up the measure of protection, to absolute and entire prohibition? If, as is contended, the increase of duties, in any one instance, is to be considered a perpetual pledge, on the part of the Government, to secure to the manufacturer, the degree of protection then contemplated, against all changes, at home and abroad, does it not furnish the strongest argument against the policy and expediency of granting such a pledge, by any further increase of duty, until its beneficial influence, in advancing the interests of the whole community, can be clearly demonstrated.

But this subject of pledged faith is, by some of the apologists of the "American System," placed upon a different footing,—and whilst they admit, that the duties are already too high, and that the establishment of them, was originally unwise and impolitic, yet that as the Manufacturers have thereby been induced, to increase their establishments, and to embark large capitals in their concerns, it is better now, to carry the system through, and afford them the required protection.

One obvious answer to this suggestion is, that if an impolitic measure has been adopted, the sooner we return to sound principles, the better,—and that no measure ought to be sustained, in violation of the free principles of our constitution, which guarantees equal rights to all its citizens. But without urging this consideration, surely, one impolitic measure affords no apology for the adoption of another. If the manufacturers have been induced, to go beyond the encouragement afforded them by Congress, and to increase their establishments, without regard to consequences, surely the losses arising from their improvidence and rashness, or from want of information, or mistaken views, are not to be thrown upon the nation.

It is to be borne in mind, that the question is not now, as to the reduction, but the increase of existing duties. Whatever may be the opinion of your Memorialists, as to the policy of imposing the duties, as they now exist, they do not, at present, ask for their repeal. If the act of 1816, the first measure, adopted for the express purpose of protecting woollen manufactures, is to be considered as a pledge, on the part of the National Legislature,—surely, it must also be regarded, as expressing the limits of that pledge. A brief recurrence to the various measures, from time to time adopted, will shew, what has been the policy of the nation upon this subject, and what has been the course of the manufacturers.

The duty originally established upon woollen goods, after the

adoption of the Constitution, was 5 *per cent.* subsequently raised to 7½ to 12½, and by the act establishing the Mediterranean fund to 15 *per cent.* So it stood at the commencement of the late war, when that and most other duties, for revenue only, were doubled, making it 30 *per cent.* and limited to one year, after the end of the War. By the operation of this duty, added to the obstructions of commerce, occasioned by the War, the woollen manufactures were undoubtedly, considerably increased. After the peace, it became necessary to put the subject upon a permanent basis. A duty was established, for the avowed purpose of protecting manufactures, and fixed at 25 *per cent.* to fall to 20 *per cent.* in 1820. This act limited the extent to which the nation consented to go. It, also, established, another principle, the reverse of that, now insisted on by the manufacturers. It proceeded upon the principle, that if high duties are ever proper for the encouragement of manufactures, the occasion being temporary, to enable the manufacturer, to struggle with the difficulties incident to a new establishment, the duty itself should be temporary, and be speedily reduced to a moderate rate, after such temporary difficulties, may reasonably be persumed to have been surmounted. Whereas the modern advocates of the restrictive system, distinctly propose, that the duty shall be, from time to time, advanced, and ultimately settle down, at a rate little, if any short of absolute prohibition, as the established basis, upon which these great interests are to be fixed.

This principle, which we understand, is strongly urged upon the consideration of Congress, by the most able and zealous advocates of the system, appears to your Memorialists, entirely unsound and inconsistent with the obvious dictates of good policy. If after the home manufacture is established upon its best possible footing, the foreign fabric, after paying a *moderate* duty, and yielding a liberal revenue to the national Treasury, can yet be sold cheaper, than the home manufacture,—as a permanent system of supply, there can seem to be no question of the expediency, of purchasing the cheaper article, and obtaining the revenue.

If the foreign fabric, thus charged with a moderate duty, cannot be sold cheaper than the home manufactured, then the prospective advance, and the ultimate and permanent establishment of the high duties, is inoperative and unnecessary.

If the act of 1816, be regarded, as in the nature of a compromise, its obligations were reciprocal: if the nation were bound to continue the protection then offered, the Manufacturers were equally bound to conform to the system then established. Yet within a very short period, that provision of the law was repealed, by which the duty was to fall to 20 *per cent;* and in 1824, it was further raised to a rate nominally exceeding 33 *per cent.* making, in fact, by [redacted] bitrary [redacted] prescribed, [redacted] of about 80 *per cent.* and on many articles, much more,—and Congress is again called upon, for a very great advance.

Is it possible to perceive any limit, at which this advance shall cease, short of absolute prohibition ? During the whole period in question, the Manufacturers have been increasing their works ; who can, or who will, give any pledge for them, that they will be satisfied with any thing, short of prohibition ? If, indeed, the Manufacturers have suffered losses, in their concerns, they have suffered in common with most other branches of business. But at all events, such losses cannot be attributed to the policy of the Government, because the duty being fixed, they could, as safely make their calculations, as those engaged in any other department of business. Nor could they justly calculate upon a future increase of duties, because many of the most eminent statesmen, who consented to the rate then established, distinctly declared their determination not to go further.

But it is urged, that it is consistent, neither with our safety, nor dignity, to remain dependent on foreign supply for so important and necessary an article, as woollen goods. This argument, specious and plausible as it is, and calculated to make an impression on our feelings of patriotism, and national pride, would have more weight, if it were true, in point of fact. But your Memorialists submit with great confidence, that the great supply of the country with woollen goods, is and long has been derived from the home manufacture, that the permanent establishment of this manufacture, within the country for its principal supply, is placed entirely beyond the reach of any influence, which high or low duties, can exert : and we confidently appeal to the early history of the country, to the established habits, pursuits, and employments of the people,—to the former flourishing condition, and extensive establishment of this branch of industry, without the aid of protecting duties, as conclusive arguments in support of this proposition.

We state this proposition strongly, because we think it manifestly true, and highly important to the just decision of the question. The foreign supply, especially of coarse goods, whilst it may serve to regulate and equalize prices, and to supply occasional deficiencies, can constitute only a small part of our whole consumption. And should war, or any other obstruction to our commerce, temporarily diminish, or even entirely stop the importation, the consequent advance of price would, with very little delay, insure a supply proportioned to the increased demand.

The fact, that the great supply of the people, with woollens, must in the existing state of things, be furnished by the home manufacture, and would be so, independently of protecting duties, may also, serve to allay the fears of farmers, and wool growers, who are induced to believe that their interests are indentified with the restrictive system. Whereas your Memorialists are convinced, and they are satisfied, that it can be conclusively shewn, by well authenticated facts, to which they beg leave to refer,—that the demand for home raised wool, and for home manufactured woollens, would be

but slightly affected, by a free admission of foreign fabrics, even at rates still lower than the existing duties.

There are a variety of other topics, connected with this prolific subject, to which it was the design of your Memorialists to refer,—but the apprehension of being tedious, prevents it. In the course of this Memorial, they have sometimes used the term "American System" to designate the system of high duties,—with a view to the encouraging, or rather forcing the introduction of home-manufactures. They have done this, in deference to those, who thus use the term,—and as a short and well understood designation, the use of which could scarcely mislead even the most superficial. So far from being calculated to protect American interests, they consider it exactly the reverse. Of this, they are sincerely convinced themselves, if they are so unfortunate as not to convince others.

They are aware, that by some rash, and over-zealous persons, all those, who entertain opinions, adverse to the American System, in the sense, in which it is thus used, are stigmatised, as opposers of American interests. It is even asserted, that this is no longer a question between different American interests,—but between Americans and foreigners. Such a suggestion could only have originated in ignorance,—or a desire to create and foster unworthy prejudices;—your Memorialists are inclined to attribute it to the blindness of an over-heated zeal.

Whatever other principle may actuate your Memorialists, they yield to none in the ardor and sincerity of their attachment to the true principles of American policy. The whole scope and design of this Memorial is to show, that the system of bounties, restrictions, and protecting duties, is hostile to these principles. If the course they advocate, cannot be sustained upon this ground, they have no desire that it should prevail.

If, on the contrary, it can be demonstrated, that a free interchange of commodities, among the several states, and with foreign countries, under moderate, steady, and, as far as practicable, unchangeable duties,—is calculated to promote and build up, equally and steadily, all the great interests of the country, regarded as a whole;—that the contrary system is calculated to paralize industry,—to retard the general prosperity,—to impair the national revenue,—and to awaken, and cherish feelings of alienation, aversion, and hostility, among different sections of the Union,—and between our own country and foreign powers,—they earnestly hope and trust, that Congress will not be induced to proceed further, in the encouragement of a system, so injurious to the general interest,—by a further increase of the duties on woollen manufactured goods.

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